

NSC BRIEFING

7 December 1954

SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

- I. Soviet wooing of Yugoslavia recently reached new peak when four top Soviet leaders--Malenkov, Khrushchev, Molotov and Bulganin--toasted both Marshal Tite and the Yugoslav Communist Party at embassy's 11th anniversary celebration in Moscow.
 - A. Surprise action was first direct Soviet "approval" of Yugo "heretics" since split in '48 and new high in campaign which started after death Stalin.
 - B. Campaign was superficial until late summer '54: since then, Soviets have--
 1. Started quoting Yugo press,
 2. Stopped and even recalled anti-Tito propaganda,
 3. Paid tribute to Yugo partisans.
 - C. Moscow toast was paralleled by unprecedented attendance of ranking Orbit leaders at other Yugo parties.

DOCUMENT NO. _____
NO CHANGE IN CLASS. ☐
X SPECIAL FIELD
CLASSIFIED BY: TS 6 C
REASON: 1.10-2
AUTH: 1.10-2
1-9-80 REVIEWER:

II. Motive behind intensification Soviet campaign probably

Moscow's reevaluation earlier efforts in light growing Yugoslav closeness to West. Actions also parallel increase in "amicable" gestures toward number of other countries whose Western ties Moscow hopes to weaken.

- A. Soviet leaders may hope that wooing of Yugoslavia, which has unique ideological and historical enmity toward USSR, will prove to world "sincerity" of general "co-existence" campaign, thus encouraging neutralism.**
- B. Additional motives--fanning Western governments' distrust of Tito.**
- C. Some recent moves have approached crucial doctrinal points of Soviet-Yugo dispute--perhaps to test Tito's responses to idea of close but independent future Belgrade-Moscow relationship.**
- D. USSR's program, in long-term aspect, however, still probably envisions day, possibly after Tito's death, when an obedient Yugoslavia might be brought back into Orbit.**

III. Yugo reaction to wooing is in accord with basic desire for "position of independence" between West and Orbit. Co-operation with "both sides" gives Yugos both Western economic and military aid and restored political respect in Orbit.

- A. Yugos view wooing as victory for their own post-'48 policy--have left initiative to USSR.**
- B. Yugo reciprocity includes such actions as okaying Soviet commercial overflights to Albania.**
- C. Yugo doctrine sees Soviet aggression threat diminished, because cold war has arrived at "equilibrium of power." Yugos state that Soviets have adopted a real policy of "relaxing tension" in Europe and this represents another reversal of Stalinism forced on Soviet leaders by internal difficulties.**
- D. Within this context, Yugos want West to negotiate with USSR on problems of international concern, at same time developing unity and maintaining legitimate defense efforts.**

E. As clarification Yugo position, Tito has publicly and privately stated he will not "go back to Moscow," has called such talk "arrant nonsense."

1. Has specified Yugo will not cut arms budget, will continue development Balkan Alliance.

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IV. For future, can expect that Yugo self-interest will preclude return to Orbit.

A. Present position gives Yugo virtual Western guarantee of national security, plus military, economic aid, without infringement on Yugo independence or internal affairs.

B. Return to Orbit would destroy Tito's hopes for increased prestige with West European Socialist parties and with "neutral" countries: example-- his current trip to India.

C. Although Yugos see indications--such as withdrawal from Satellite joint companies--that USSR intends less

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interference with satellites, they still distrust USSR enough to discount any Soviet offers—even one which might promise a relationship as independent as Peking's.

3. Meanwhile, no signs that Tito gives any concrete offer of federal reentry into Bloc. Moscow probably expects Tito would reject anything it was willing to offer.

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